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-Hungary-

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(USSR)

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UNDER THE CARDINAL'S MANTLE.

-Hungary-

Following is the translation of an article entitled "Pod kardinal'skoy mantley" (English version above) by A. A. Ivanov in Nauka i Zhizn' (Science and Life), No 7, Moscow, July 1960, pages 51-54.

A few months ago, on the 15th anniversary of the liberation from the fascist regime, the government of the Hungarian Peoples' Republic decreed a partial amnesty for the participants of the autumn 1956 revolt. Of course, this act did not apply to the more hardened reactionaries, who are guilty of grave crimes against the people, despite the fact that imperialist propaganda tries to whitewash them in every possible way. Representatives of church circles in a number of countries also hastened to defend the initiators and leaders of the revolt. The reader is asked to consider one of those men for whom the churchmen fight under the cover of "higher principles of religious morality."

For the fourth year already the man with the bulging, sclerotic eyes lives hemmed in by walls of the US Diplomatic Mission in Budapest. He is not a US citizen. He is a Hungarian, a man who for a long time was Cardinal of the Catholic Church of that country. He is in a morose and dismal mood. A powerless rage chokes him. But of course! Few people indeed have experienced such a complete collapse of all their schemes and designs as this former church noble. He is in no position to mend anything, he can't even go out on the street, for ten years already he has been a state criminal.

Who is he? Joseph Mindszenty, preacher of Christian love, a man who all his life has hated the working people. An advocate of Christian meekness, guilty of the

deaths of hundreds and thousands of the country's best people. The very embodiment of hypocrisy and bigotry, behind which hides the filthy soul of a political adventurer and a hardened reactionary.

Already in the beginning of his career, when Mindszenty was only the provincial priest Joseph Peym, he had to live through the collapse and disintegration of his beloved Hapsburg Monarchy and the subsequent rule of the Soviets in Hungary. With unconcealed joy he supported the Horthyite cutthroats who ruthlessly suppressed the new order. Since then Mindszenty has devoted himself to the struggle against the people, to the suppression -- with the aid of quite temporal organizations -- of everything displeasing to the Horthy regime. He engaged in politics more willingly than in church affairs.

On Sundays, when the church was filled with people, Peym hurriedly conducted the festive Mass. Impassively, he read the theological texts in Latin, which was incomprehensible to the parishioners. Sounds of Bach's fugues filled the air. Peym stepped away from the altar. As soon as the last sounds of the music faded away, he ascended the pulpit. Loudly and expressively, speaking in Hungarian, Peym pronounced the priestly message, teaching always one thing -- obedience and humility. He damned the insubordinate and recalcitrant ones and threatened them not only with heavenly, but also earthly punishments. The people knew that the "shepherd of souls'" threats were not idle words and feared him.

Peym's preachings were noticed by the church leadership. An order was issued to print some of them for wider distribution. Step by step, Peym began to move up in the church hierarchy. At the beginning of World War II he was already a bishop and occupied a prominent place in the "Catholic People's Party." When Horthy declared that he was an ally of Hitler and sent his forces to the Eastern Front, Peym blessed that campaign.

However, hard times soon arrived. After the crushing of the Hitlerite-fascists and their allies at Stalingrad, the front began irreversibly to move westward. Defeatist sentiments were mounting in Hungary; in governmental circles there was talk of a separate peace with the Western Powers. In 1944, Hitler occupied Hungary, deposed Horthy and put in his place the faithful slave Szalasi. The old cardinal of the Hungarian Catholic Church died that same year. Joseph Peym, at that time already the Archbishop of Esztergom, who had adopted the name Mindszenty (meaning "all saints"), took his place.

Meanwhile, the situation was developing not at all

to the advantage of the bourgeois-landowners ruling clique. Fascism suffered a military collapse. Hitler committed suicide. Horthy fled to Portugal. Szalasi was executed. The Hungarian aristocracy fled abroad. Hungary became a People's Democratic Republic.

The new cardinal did not surrender. He knew that Aoltan Tildy, the President of the Republic, and Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy were determined foes of Communism, and he put his trust in them. However, he was disappointed even here. The counterrevolutionary conspiracy organized by Nagy was unmasked. The Communists took power. Under their leadership the Hungarian people embarked upon the construction of socialism.

Then Mindszenty became more active. Hiding behind the cardinal's mantle, this hypocrite founded a monarchist organization and personally prepared a new revolt. He hurriedly established connections with Otto Hapsburg, then residing in the USA, who is the cardinal's candidate for the Hungarian throne. Even a temporary capture of power by Mindszenty himself was envisaged, should the royal descendant miss the beginning of the revolt. The cardinal did not doubt the success of the venture.

Gradually, however, it became evident that there is clearly not enough backing within Hungary itself for the establishment of a monarchy. Mindszenty was defeated and infuriated. With maniacal persistence he continued to seek out his plans. In 1947, the cardinal went to the Congress of St. Mary in Ottawa, and from there secretly to the USA, where both sides meet. Here, in a cloister, he met Otto Hapsburg and plotted the details for the overthrow of the people's democratic regime through armed intervention by the Western Powers. In addition, Mindszenty talked things over with the US's Cardinal Spellman, who helped him establish contact with the US envoy in Budapest, Seldon Chopin, /Chapin?/ and the US intelligence agent Tibor Ekinhardt.

The Christian churchman returned to Budapest full of optimistic expectations. There he set up a staff to head the revolt and made up a list of members of the monarchist government from persons whom the People's Democratic Government had already accused of treason. Through confidential agents the cardinal established contact with his old friend Horthy. With particular energy Mindszenty procured the money necessary to prepare and carry out the counterrevolutionary revolt. He did not shrink from using any means, including smuggling in large sums of US dollars, Swiss francs, etc.

According to the laws of the Hungarian People's Re-

public, all organizations, including the church and private individuals, have to report the amounts of foreign currency in their possession to the appropriate state agencies. In order to avert suspicion, Mindszenty reported that in his possession were only 4,800 dollars. At the same time he secretly divided 15,000 dollars among the church hierarchy for subversive purposes. And for himself, this model Christian kept a sum almost ten times larger! In order to escape criminal responsibility, he exchanged, through front men, a significant number of dollars into forints on the black market.

The cardinal's infamous activities culminated with espionage. Mindszenty handed over various secret proceedings to his sponsors through his secretary and the secretary of the US Mission.

Then came the day of reckoning. The crimes of the clergyman with the non-committal name of "all saints" were unmasked, and at last he found himself behind prison bars. This happened in 1949.

Yet, even in prison, Mindszenty was up to his old tricks. At first he expected help from the Vatican and the Western Powers. His hopes were not fulfilled -- it is difficult to plead for a spy, conspirator, and profiteer. Then the cardinal changed his tactics. He pretended to have become a sick and feeble old man. In 1955, the Hungarian bishop asked the government of the Hungarian People's Republic to mitigate the punishment of the imprisoned hypocrite. The request was granted and Mindszenty was transferred to the comfortable Felshenetar Castle. The house arrest did not prevent the experienced politician from establishing connections with the outside world. Rumors of a revival of counterrevolutionary circles reached the cardinal and he again started to cherish hopes of re-establishing the old order.

In October 1956, the Hungarian reactionaries rose in revolt. They immediately demanded that Mindszenty be freed. The traitor Imre Nagy, meeting reaction halfway, declared the legal process against the inveterate enemy of the Hungarian people to have been illegal. On the orders of Minister Zoltan Tildy, on 30 October, Mindszenty was freed and brought to Budapest.

The cardinal rejoiced. He forgot all about his old age and ill health. Already on the way to Budapest, the "holy father" said to the inhabitants of the village of Retshag, that he would continue that work which was stopped eight years ago. In Budapest he engaged in feverish activity. Having seen two ministers of the traitor Nagy government and graciously promising them to speak over the

radio, Mindszenty with a frantic haste got in touch with Washington and San Francisco by telephone. Sure of the US monopolists' favorable attitude towards the revolt, the cardinal immediately addressed himself in writing to the President of the United States and asked for help. A second message he sent to Spellman, a third to the Pope.

The Western press openly called Mindszenty the spiritual leader of the revolt and the future head of the Hungarian government. The "shepherd of souls" already saw himself as the political leader of the Hungarian reaction. He worked out the government's program. The cardinal planned to establish in Hungary the same political order as exists in West Germany, restoring property to the landlords and capitalist, restoring the church all its domains and properties, placing the schools under its domination, etc. Severance of all connections with the socialist countries and unleashing a war against the USSR -- such was the foreign policy of that antipopular program.

For the full success of his restoration schemes, Mindszenty hatched one more monstrous action. He proposed to Imre Nagy that on 5 November ^{/sic/}a funeral of the revolt's victims should take place. The cardinal himself served at the requiem mass and read the sermon, blessing the use of violence against the Communists. And that evening, the "night of the long knives" began.....

On 3 November the Christian activist made a long speech on the radio. He put his whole hardened reactionary and cruel Jesuit heart in it. And if until then many Hungarians were confused by revisionist demagogy, then most people now started to understand who stood behind "national Communist" Imre Nagy and what the reaction had achieved. Even Mindszenty's imperialist masters expressed their dissatisfaction with the cardinal's frankness.

And again Mindszenty miscalculated. This time the error was fatal to his plans. Early in the morning of 4 November 1956, the cardinal's frightened collaborators informed him of the entry of Soviet forces into Budapest. Mindszenty went to the Parliament. He wanted to find out what action Imre Nagy's cabinet would take. But, already there was no government.....

Mindszenty finally understood that there was no hope. He went out on the square, quickly crossed it, and opened the door of the US Mission. True, even now the cardinal did not want to give up. He tried to talk the US Government into armed intervention against the Hungarian people. If the worst came, he could go to America to renew the fight against the hated Communism from there. But the Western Powers did not embark on an armed adventure against socialist Hungary, and the Americans were unable to send

Mindszenty to the US.

And so the state criminal Joseph Mindszenty already for some years has been gloomily living in the US Diplomatic Mission in Budapest. It is hard to tell if he has learned anything. And that, as a matter of fact, is not important. It is much more important that the deeds of the "holy father," exposed in detail in a number of documents, including the Hungarian government's "white book" on the 1956 revolt, opened the eyes of many simple people in Hungary (any not only in Hungary!) who blindly trusted the Christ-loving purposes of the reactionary clergy. Again and again was confirmed the reality, that the great bulk of them, hiding behind the name of a mythical God, serve the exploiters and oppressors. It has been demonstrated again and again that no religious convictions can hold back the reactionaries from carrying out their black deeds. Such an obstacle can only be a people who sooner or later throw all Mindszentys -- should they be large or small -- onto the garbage heap of history.